scratched like a "tigri"—a tiger, for this is how the Bush Negroes name the jaguar. Later, when we saw him dance the Tigri Kromanti dance, we witnessed one of the most realistic feline interpretations imaginable. But that is another matter.

Now Apanto was an obia man to be reckoned with, and his fellow villagers and the villagers of neighboring settlements treated him with a deference that his age alone could never have commanded. And it was this Apanto who now came up and said that he would sing the sacred Kromanti songs for our phonograph.

"You will not understand the songs. They will be in the Kromanti language," he warned us. "They are strong, and the machine must be strong to carry them."

It happens that a field phonograph is anything but strong. The mechanism is simple, since the instrument must be light enough to be carried about, and yet it often is subjected to all manner of hard usage. To this is added the hazard of the climate. The turntable is actuated by a belt running from the mechanism inside the case, and the ends of this belt are glued together. This, to be sure, we discovered later. At the moment, we met Apanto's challenge with assurance. We did not doubt that the machine was spiritually strong.

What he said about the Kromanti language was true. The Kromanti tongo, of which we had been told during our first visit here, we were finding to be an actuality, and although we took down the words as he sang them, aided in hearing them by the repetitions, their meaning was unknown to us. Some of them we learned later. Some of them we knew. "Obia" we knew concerned the spirit, the vague force known by that name, while "Amba" was a deity sacred to Saturday, and was given as a "day name" to women born on that day of the week. This, then, is what he sang:

"Ma djrai'yo-yo
Obia kale ma djrai no-ko
Obia no-yo

Herskovits & Herskovits 2-4 (1929-1932) 1934
Bush Negroes
Surinam

603 were told that kambo was an abbreviated form of kamboso, and meant the woman who makes trouble.

[500] "He is my grandson, he calls me wife, and I call him husband. We joke together about everything."

Up and down the river we heard these expressions from the old men and women with whom we talked, and to them these were all-sufficient explanations of the relationship of grandparent and grandchild. This making free was a verbal give-and-take that did not stop at brusqueness or teasing. Indeed, those who indulged in this freedom might discuss with each other any phase of the sexual life. Nor did they need to resort to any evasion or circumlocution. There seemed, moreover, to be a sanction for emphasis on the obscene and the lascivious in these conversations—obscene and lascivious, that is, from the point of view of those who were themselves speaking!

603 180 The effect of the custom is interesting. It acts as a form of release for the young, who are held down under the strain of paying respect to those who are older and of greater experience. It is a way of escape from the discipline imposed by the parents and those of their generation.

What did the Bush Negro make of it?

We talked about it with men and women of many villages, and invariably the answer was the same.

"So we live in the bush, white man, and so we do. Our ancestors did this before us. Long ago our great ancestors brought all this knowledge with them from *Neng'e Kond'e* —from the land of the Negroes."

Yet in the beliefs of these people, and in their life as they live it, there are to be found a few suggestive hints which seem to have some bearing on this custom of verbal license between grandparents and grandchildren.

603 [551] The Bush Negro child is given many names at birth, and one name is usually that of a departed ancestor, a deceased grandparent. It may be, then, that this puts the child on a plane of spiritual equality with his grandparents and with those of their generation who are related to him. There is, also, the feeling about the propriety of the mar-

Herskovits & Herskovits X-5 (1933-1934) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

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The women had spoken with greater and greater reluctance about troubled births and now moved uneasily.

"You must not ask this," said Dida, rising. "Never talk about such things to young women."

Not until later, when Fenekonde and Tenemi were left alone with the white woman did they talk about birth customs again.

When a child died at birth, a hole was dug somewhere in the family quarter, or just outside it, and the child was buried there. There was no wake, no mourning. All those who had been living in the house where it died found other quarters, and for a month the house was washed with obia water. But if this had occurred before to the same mother, they would break the house where the child was born and would cast the pieces into the unhallowed bush. Some people on the river even broke it down at the first occurrence. There were never any wakes for very small children.

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"Children die because they are bad spirits come in the form of a child. When they do not stay, we know it is a bad spirit. When the house is broken, they do not know their way to come again."

"What if a woman died?"

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This was whispered so softly that only Fenekonde heard it, but she did not conceal her distaste for the question.

"When a woman dies she is put in a flat coffin. Some villages give her no coffin at all. Weeds are put into her eyes. All the girls in the village wash their eyes with obia weeds and water. They must never see this again. There is no wake. There is no dancing. No guns are shot. They break the house, and throw it after the coffin, as the men carry it away. She must not come back again."

But the white woman must not imagine that all deliveries were difficult. Often a woman bore a child, and, when the after-birth came, she herself rose and bathed and washed in pemba.

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A child was given many names. Even in early childhood four or five names were not too many. There was the day

M Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1926-1929) 1934
[illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Saramacca

name which was kept secret and never spoken except in states of possession or when the obia man called on a person's spirit. For girls, Amba for a Saturday child, Affi for one born on Friday, Adjuba for Wednesday; and for the boys some of the names were Kwaku, for Monday, Yao for Thursday, Kofi for Friday, and Kwasi for Sunday. Then there was the name which the father gave, and after that any of the family who cared added a name and made the child a present.

From the day it was born until it was at least two years old a child fed at its mother's breast. For twelve moons and five more of this time the woman could not go to the hammock with a man. It was then that her husband went to the distant French shore to work or to the railhead. But after seventeen months of nursing were past, he came back.

"If a child is made before a woman gets back her menstrual flow, then it is a god. It is Kesefu. A child born feet first some call Agosu, and some Asaeng. The child born after twins we call Dosu, and twins are Hohobi. Now it is in your book. You will give those names to your children, and your sister's children. No one will know at all what names these are. No one will be able to harm them."

§

In the quarter immediately adjoining that of the Granman there was great activity. Six or seven men and boys were at work on a new house, for the youngest daughter of the family was ready for marrying, and now the men were helping her suitor to build a house for her in her village.

From the same quarter, behind a house which stood in the shade, came the laughter of young girls. We made our way past the house and saw four girls ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen seated on a log. One of these held her head back, and an older girl was bending over her. They called to us as we passed.

"We are cutting kamemba. Do you want some cuts, too?"

These were not new cuts which were being made, for with perhaps one exception, the girls were all nubile, and

1: Herskovits & Herskovits R-4 (1958-1959) 1934
288 Bush Negroes 588
Saramacca

Woman, I care for you,
I will be your god."

There was consternation among the women who stood outside listening. The Akantamasu god was one of the strongest on the river. He ranked only slightly under the great obia spirits, which the Sky God when creating the world had sent as wisdom for the living to combat the capricious lesser gods, and humans who were dominated by evil spirits. Differing from the obia spirits, however, who befriended the living, and brought healing to them, the Akantamasu god was an avenger, surpassed alone by the yorka, the ghosts, who avenged by killing instantly when they chose, while the Akantamasu god killed more slowly.

But there was concern for the possessed woman, as well. She had spoken the name Affi, her day name, the name which summoned her soul. When not in a state of possession, she would never have spoken it before a stranger, except in a whisper to an obia man who came to cure her, or to a diviner to whom she came to ask why her soul was troubled.

Presently the white figure rose, breaking the tension, and, chanting, went from the hut into the clearing. Affi and the white woman followed. In the light of the clearing, a faint resemblance could be seen in the grace of the body of the figure in white to the pleasant Amasina. Of the brown of her skin, only the ankles and feet showed.

Both of the possessed women began pacing back and forth in the clearing, in time to the rhythm of their songs, but while Amasina danced with an easy stride, Affi shook and quivered and moaned.

"When the gods come, we do not speak. We sing. The speech of the gods is song. So it is," one woman whispered.

Another said, indicating Affi, "Her god troubles her. She gave you a strong god. Are you afraid?"

"When the god comes to you, you will speak tongues. Now you have two gods. When Kesekia comes to you, you will sing Kesekia songs, you will dance to him."

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

tion as the Djukas stand and gaze at the criminals of France. And, through this study of the Djuka, the reader may know Djuka life for himself. In the pages of Dr. Kahn's book he journeys up tropical rivers to jungle villages whose names, being translated are, "Try me," "God knows," "Don't Touch Me," and the "Village of the Foot that has no Resting-Place." He meets men whose names mean "Waving Flag," "He Speaks the Truth," "Nice Fellow," "Laughs When He Talks," and "Love Is Sweet."

Dr. Kahn takes his reader far into the interior, for his starting point is where superficial travellers end. The journey leads to the tribe which has two languages: one for ordinary use, and the other a secret language which they call "deepee talkee"; and to strange villages which a man must enter carrying a paddle before him as a symbol that he is voyaging. It is a journey among peoples proud and spirited and courageous, descended from ancestors so bold in their rebellion that they were able to conclude treaties whereby the white man paid them a tribute which their descendants still receive in the form of an annual gift from the Dutch authorities to the headmen of the various Djuka tribes. The reader thus finds himself among the only primitive people in the world to whom the white man pays tribute; among a people to whom magic is as real as science is to us; who believe that spirits, both good and evil, inhabit the very streams and trees of the forest; people who know how to manufacture courage through the hypnotic intoxication of the tomtom and how to get rid of fatigue in the ecstasy of the dance; people whose

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

not severed gently enough. During the nursing period it is often customary for the mother to abstain from intercourse, and judging by the size of the nursing children this period may last for two years.

The children are carried in the West African manner, astride on their mothers' backs and held by a band of wide cloth that goes around both mother and child. This is unlike the local Indian custom, in which the squaws carry their offspring on their hips. The children are washed often, being bathed several times a day beside the river; they stand and gurgle as the water is being poured over them.

The number of births among the Djukas is not as great as might be inferred from their promiscuity. This suggests, of course, that some means of contraception is practised. In one village on the Saramacca River a medicine man showed the bahkra a yellow berry, an infusion of which is supposed to have abortive properties; it is known among the natives of British Guiana as "Doctor Doolittle." We doubt that the infusion has any such properties as are assigned to it. We also heard that the Djukas practice mechanical abortion, but their crude instruments must make this very dangerous.

Excepting during the first two or three years of the children's lives, mothers actually have little to do with their care. There are usually several older children in the family, sisters, brothers, or cousins, to whom is relegated the care of the younger ones. Besides their ordinary names, children are also called according to the day of the week on which they were born, such as Monday-child, Tuesday-child, and so on.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

202 In communicating by means of a beached canoe, instead of a series of long and short beats, the drummer will imitate the pitch and rhythm of a spoken sentence. By striking in different places along the gunwale of the boat, tones of different pitch can be obtained, which mimic the sharply modulated intonation of spoken words in talkee-talkee. The listeners match the sounds with the words that they suggest. The device is too difficult to be widely used, but seems to serve well in emergencies.

● 331 The method of naming people among the Djukas is extremely curious. There is a superstitious fear of mentioning certain names among them. This is very probably of African origin. In slavery days, no Negro, when passing an estate, [332] would dare to mention its name until the estate had been passed. When we went over a falls in the river, we could learn its name only after the danger spot had been passed.

For personal names the Djukas have one which everyone may use and another which depends upon the day of the week on which the individual was born. This latter can be learned only after explicit inquiry and often not at all. There is also the secret name that strangers seldom know, if ever. [71] This custom of secret names is also prevalent among the Surinam Carib Indians and other primitives.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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For example, one of our Bush Negro guides is called *Moi-Man* (Nice Fellow). He is also known as Kwasi which means Saturday-child. The Bush Negro woman known as Koko was also called Akoea because she was born on a Wednesday. This method of naming children after the day in the week on which they were born seems to have been brought over from the Tshi-speaking people in Africa. The similarity is easily recognized after consulting the following table, compiled by Mr. Charles de Goeje.

	Male		*Female*	
Born on	*Djuka*	*Tshi*	*Djuka*	*Tshi*
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasi	Akwasiba	Asi or Akwasiba
Monday	Kodjo	Kwadjo	Adoea, or Adjoeba	Adua
Tuesday	Kwamina, or Kwabina	Kobina, or Kwabina	Abena, or Akoeba	Abena, or Arabat
Wednesday	Kwakoe, or Quakoe	Kwaku	Akoea	Akua
Thursday	Jaw	Know, yaw, or Akbur	Jaba	Awbah, Awybah, or Yawa
Friday	Kofi, or Kofjay	Kwafi	Afiba	Yah-awfua
Saturday	Kwasi	Kwasi	Amba	Amenimwah

Some interesting, popular names for men are as follows:

Benzini, meaning benzine
Taki Lafiu, laughs when he talks

● 551

Tak Lettie, he speaks the truth
Aporimoi, he spoils nice things
Pina Ingie, starving Indian
Frantie Boy, French boy
Horlogie Buka, mouth like a watch
Bor-Boriman, shouting man
Danniman, dancing man
Sweetee Libbie, sweet life
Ameke Moi, makes nice things
Lobbi Sweetee, love is sweet
Apuuuo, it happens so
Bat Jau, salt fish
Abbetam, he is in time
Addri, turning around
Kengiesabtem, he changed his name
Pai Fini, exact payer

The following personal names for men are possibly of African origin:

Akwambo	Wompey
Agnuzno	Adjuju
Ludo	Adjau
Payong	Ajongu
Twojong	Tojo
Tombey	Jang
Somboay	Yayu

For the following names borne by men we were unable to find particular meanings:

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Djuka Talk

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Lawne	Abeyoni
Maddy	Abionie
Angasi	Samtoni
Dandilo	Samsie
Tjafaka	Saleh

A few feminine names are as follows:

Koko	Nee Nee
Amehaa	Afanisi
Mehlee	Cudu
Suri	Yomeh
Widuma	Sasmeh
Anitee	Tia Kabah

No stringed instruments were seen among the Bush Negroes, although they may exist. The musical impulses of the blacks are expressed chiefly in the beating of the tomtoms. The *aseke-aseke*, which means "shake shake," is added to the drum ensemble to emphasize by contrast with its light pebbly sound the vast heavy tonality of the drums. The same is probably true of the *gaagwa*, the board beaten with sticks. Occasionally a nose flute is seen, a direct survival of West Africa. It is a plain flute, made of a reed, but blown with the

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123 As a White one must enjoy great confidence among them if one wants to obtain permission to witness such solemnities. Never shall I forget the spectacle when I was present at such a festival; it took place from seven o'clock in the evening until two o'clock in the morning. During all this time I found myself in a very unpleasant state of tension. Although I found myself far from the part inhabited by us (namely the town of Paramaribo) in the deep forest alone in their midst, I was nevertheless not afraid because of my positive conviction of my influence over them. I was not at ease that night, however, and were it not for the fact that I did not want to hinder them or show them that I did not feel at ease at this solemnity, I would have departed, however eager I was to see the result of the movement. I remained, however, until all had come to an end, both for the distinction that fell to me for /23/ having been allowed to be present there and in order not to offend the trust put in me, while to myself I rejoiced at being able later to give to others the description of this solemnity.

Chapter XIV

Language, Odo, and Narratives (1)

538 1. Odo, proverb, narratives are called kiri, and tales anansi-tori.

197 Their language is the Negro English customarily spoken here, but in a singsong tone with a peculiar accent.

195 As proof that during the conversation they understand you well, they constantly repeat "Yaa!"

551 When a child is born among them, aside from a general name they also give it a day name, in which for them special meanings are concealed, for instance:

/23 cont./

551 The boys born on Sunday Kwasie; the girls Kwasiba.
" " " " Monday Kodjo; " " Adjuba.
" " " " Tuesday Kwamina; " " Abenie.
" " " " Wednesday Kwakoe; " " Akoeba.
" " " " Thursday Jauw; " " Jaba.
" " " " Friday Kofi; " " Afie.
" " " " Saturday Kwami; " " Amba.

538 Their odo or proverbs as a rule have reference to their simple bush life, for instance:

539 "Te pikien boesi kiebrie joe boen, dan joe no monoe falla biegie boesi te joe toeka naka ben": that is,

"If you are protected by a small bush, be content with it and do not demand the bigger one that you may happen to see."

Another meaning is:

"If the little suffices, then do not strive for the greater."

"Na srefie avie die de falla pikien boo, de falla bigie wantoe": that is,

"The ax that cuts down little trees also cuts down big trees."

Another meaning is:

"God, who does not forsake the worm, will not forsake a man either," or:

/24/ "Nobody is so unhappy but that days of good luck come for him": also:

"Regard your enemy not too lightly."

Chapter XV

General Knowledge

824 This is on a very low level among them and is confined mainly to a thorough knowledge of varieties of wood and medicinal herbs in use among them.

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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/tib affiliations of each individual.]

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602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[182] - That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] - That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples: because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kin-
613 ship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

- People of the same generation, the expression: ba So-and-so... (man) / a So-and-so (woman)
- - of one generation above, the expression: tiya, uncle / tiya, aunt
- - of two generations above, the expression: papa / mama.

[192] /34/ Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, yâlo, or tiya, yâlo.

In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appella-
[551] tion, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

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601 In speaking to one's mother, one uses a special expression, often formed of ma followed by the last syllable of her name.

For example, Asakundu (Lapé ko) is called Ma Ndu or Mama Ndu by her son. Béniti (Dju ko, †1955) was called Ma Béniti or Ami by her children.

601 602 The appellations relating to patrilineage are exactly the same except for mi ta, my father. But as these patrilineages have no practical social function, being limited to the transmission of an interdiction, the kinship ties are not known beyond the second generation and people bother very little with them.

601 When one addresses someone of a different lineage one uses, in deference, the same terms whether the person being addressed appears to be the same age or older. This is particularly clear for old people who are uniformly called papa and mama. For people of about one's own age, if one knows them well one says ba So-and-so /male/ or wa So-and-so /female/. For men one does not know well one often uses mista So-and-so (mista = Mr.). The Boni are quite punctilious in this respect. It is very disagreeable to them to be called directly by their name; their European employers have the custom of speaking to them thus; they accept it on their part but not without reticence.

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601 Special appellations result from marriage; the terms used are reciprocal:

pay designates the relationship between father-in-law, son-in-law or daughter-in-law.

may — the relationship between mother-in-law, son-in-law.

soagi — the relationship between brothers-in-law.

X Boni mi pay means "X is my father-in-law" as well as "X is my son-in-law."

As a general rule a man calls soagi all those whom his wife calls brothers in the classificatory sense, and pay all whom she calls uncles. But the term may is used only with respect to the wife's own mother.

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places except as they present themselves for recording of vital statistics or for registration on voting lists.

administration has for a long time appeared /as/ in the eyes of the inhabitants of the interior as a benevolent office); but they obey the old African maxim of never telling the whites more than half of what they know.

125 In the absence of any nominal census which could serve as a point of departure, this job presented considerable difficulties arising principally from the extreme mobility of the population:

[519] —Never is the whole population of a village assembled together simultaneously; the proportion of those absent frequently reaches 50 per cent, especially in the fine season (hunting, fishing, boating, clearings at the farming habitations, etc.);

• [551] —A good many men and women have two, sometimes three, names used interchangeably. If one does not personally know a large part of the inhabitants of the villages and does not have at his disposal carefully made-up genealogical tables, it is impossible to understand anything;

[125] —If the men respond in good faith, it is not the same with the women, who are inaccessible to any reasoning. Some try to cash in on the information they give, others obstinately refuse to answer;

125 —A number of adolescents and even of men between 20
591 and 25 years old have no regular hut. Each Boni, man or woman,
592 is in principle expected to build a hut in one of the "great villages." But this residence may be fictitious: It can, for example, be a tumbled-down hut which they intend to put up again some day... or the peak roof of the house of the mother or a brother, under which they install themselves on days when a ceremony causes the lineage to meet together, residing the rest of the year in a farming habitation.

/43 cont./
114 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of
43 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (I).

[048] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.
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114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

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846 834 856 Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and even avoid touching them. Conjugal relations must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself on his knees /123/ (eight months). They cite the example of Baïna's wife who has puny children after pregnancies at too short intervals. (842)

846 834 862 198 593 Actually, the interruption of conjugal relations tends to be reduced more and more, the women having condensed milk available and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.

Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband has no power to restrain her.

The Name

551 553 Existence of several independent names. Each Boni has two names, the gaã ŋgm or big name, given by the father, and the pikin ŋgm or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin ŋgm is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Boni are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and cognomens given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

55] /123 cont./
[563] and supplanting the others. but in numerous cases the names are used concurrently; in general an individual is designated among his maternal relatives by his pikin nɛ̃m, while the people of other villages designate him by his gaã nɛ̃m or by a cognomen. It has happened to us many a time in the course of the same conversation to hear the same individual designated by two or three different names.

[125] It goes without saying that this custom makes any census
[128] of the Refugee Blacks impracticable, for as long as one does not know individually the members of a lineage and their genealogy, it is impossible to understand anything.

Nevertheless, one must not see in this a defense reaction with respect to the European administration. The Refugee Blacks find it completely normal to have several names at a time, for they do not have the notion of the identity of a name with a person.

Thus one of our boatmen was Fintiman to his maternal relatives, Gobiyo to his father and part of his friends, Loamba to his paternal grandfather, and Nakiyu to his first wife.

55] Choice of names. Names are highly varied and their choice
553 does not follow any fixed rule; it is in the exclusive domain of fancy.

A large number are constituted of simple onomatopoeia: Tyutyu, Dada, Dodo, Dudu, etc. (which may be applied indiscriminately to man or woman). Dodo's mother explained to us the reason for her choice: dodo was the refrain of an air which often sang in her head while she was pregnant. /124/

55] Again are pointed out:
177 --More or less deformed European names: Afayèl (Rafaèl), Modèl, Pasensi (Patience), Félisi (Félix), Sophie, Toïna (Antonia). Certain names are deformed European proper names; for example: Sota for Chotard (name of an official in Saint-Laurent);

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/124 cont./

551 [197] --African names (Mona, Kodyo, Kofi, Abuba, Afiba, etc.), most of them apparently coming from the west coast of Africa.

[553] --Some Indian names: Omiikan, Palké. This last name had been given to a young man of Asisi by his great-uncle in memory of an Indian chief with whom he was very closely connected;

--Names of plants, animals, or ordinary objects, either in taki-taki or in French:

Ex.: Kapachi (armadillo), Aguti (agouti, a rodent), Babun (red monkey), Kwata (South American spider monkey), Chii (seed), Maisi (maize), Tutu (bamboo), Sépina (épinards, "spinach"), Polimichi (small portable stove), Balansi (balance), Tambour /drum/, Kédé (chest, box), Mandolina (mandolin), Kokoti (tattooing), Guunkaala (blue bead), Klarinèt (clarinet), Atapu (arrow), Bisikilt /bicycle/, Tomobii /automobile/, etc.;

[199] --European words whose meaning is more or less understood but which sound agreeable to the ears of the Refugee Blacks:

Ex.: Manifest, Komisèr (commissioner), Nètwayé (nettoyé, "cleaned"), Machinn (machine);

551 601 --Kinship terms or terms of social relations, associated often with a qualifier:

Ex.: Maman (mother), Baakamaman (black mother), May (mother-in-law), Pikin pay (little son-in-law), Pikin baala (little comrade), Bachi (master), Michi (young lady), Baakamichi (young black lady), etc.

551 --Expressions relating generally to the child's characteristics during its first months:

Ex.: Kundu mofu (little mouth), Kundu uman (short woman), Alébiédé (red head), Alobikyé (he likes to cry), Alobilafu (he likes to laugh), Koouman (cold woman), Amoyuman (pretty woman), Dansiuman (dancer), Hafukii (half dead), etc.;

551 579 --Names alluding to a virtue, but this is pure fancy; we must not believe that they attempt in that way to make it enter the child. One sees Séyéuman (serious woman), Abété

/124 cont./

551 [529] (the best), Poyman (strong man), etc.; along the same line names are often given such as Gootu uman (golden woman);

551 522 --Often, finally, the name is the contraction of a short sentence expressing a joke or a ridiculous association of ideas:

Agimianèm (give me a name), Nèfilmoo (it is no longer for you), Afumidichi (that one is for me), Sanidialobi (thing he likes), Agoabuchi (he goes into the bush), etc.

Woochia is the contraction of a u ɔ a i ya? (what shall we see there?), expressing the surprise of a woman who was seeing herself pregnant for the first time after 15 years of sterile marriage.

/125/ In this kind of name, in several cases it is a question of a joke with respect to the child, for which he will have to suffer all his life.

Es.: Amoyanéti (he is pretty in the night), name given to a child who was very ugly.

Poété (convict) is the pikin nem of B...., a man about 42 years old in 1957; he never clearly understood why his mother had given him that name which he could not get rid of, his comrades taking malicious pleasure in calling him by his pikin nem.

This bad joke had so much success that it was put into circulation two more times: in Boni country there are now two Poété and a /female/ Poétéuman!

551 553 [522] This example, associated with many others, shows the casualness with which the Refugee Blacks choose their children's names. We have been present several times at discussions concerning the choice of these names; they proceed in an atmosphere of crude farce. B...., with whom we have just been concerned, who had had to suffer from the name his mother had given him, called one of his nephews Canada because it is the country in which are manufactured Evinrude motors which he admired very much.

/125 cont./

553 613 [178] [162]

Transmission of names. It seems that in former times children were by preference given the name of one of their classificatory uncles in the father's lineage. This custom is still clearly observable, but its practice is not general. In fact, out of about 670 persons counted in the villages on the French bank, including about 250 children younger than 14 years, there are only 64, or less than 25 per cent who bear the name of an adult living or dead. These 64 cases are divided thus:

	Mother's Lineage	Father's Lineage	Other Lineages
Name taken from among the child's clasificatory brothers and sisters.	0	3	
Name taken from among the child's clasificatory uncles and aunts.	3	37	11
Name taken from among the child's "grandfathers" and "grandmothers."	2	8	

Of these 64 names, 44 /sic/ are taken from the father's lineage, only five from the mother's.

• [551] This table is only good for a simple indication. In order to go farther it would have been necessary to study separately the name given by the father and that given by the mother, which we could not do (let us recall that 75 per cent of the individuals are designated by a single name; either the father and mother agreed on the same name, or one of the two names fell into disuse after the child's early years.

/128/.

653 Let us remember simply that there is a clear tendency to choose the name from the paternal relatives of the child (1).

[191] "1.. It is a general rule among the populations of Black Africa from whom the Refugee Blacks borrowed their main cultural train, the patrilineal Fon and Yoruba as well as the matrilineal and patrilocal Agni and Ashanti. The persistence
[198] of this custom among the Refugee Blacks tends to strengthen the patrilineal and patrilocal tendencies which were persisting among them at the time when their institutions were developing.

551 Apparently they avoid giving the name of a very old person or one recently deceased.

553 In this transmission of the name there does not seem to be anything other than a mark of affection toward a relative. No bond is created between the child and the adult whose name he bears. Obviously there is nothing in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks which requires the perpetuation of names and their transmission from the dead to the living.

[613] When they wish to give one of their children the name of a person of another lineage, they must ask permission of this person, who does not necessarily grant it (he may fear that his name might thus be borne later by a thief or a ne'er-do-well).

If he does give his permission it does not, strictly speaking, involve any payment; but he may be offered a small gift.

[613] There is no need of any authorization to take a name borne by a person of the lineage of the child's mother or father.

G:Bureau--183 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 588 Bush Negroes 588
Boni

/126 cont./

551 563 The only case in which custom governs the choice of name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agbou.

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Ela (2).

[199]

2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimbo and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

429 604 [593] Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by preference about matters of small importance). For serious [584] matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned.

429 593 604 [586] It is to the mother that people will come to complain about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni, 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fintiman, who took the matter in hand).

Ostrander--280 K-3 (1948-1958) 1961 SRS South Bergen: SRS
Bass

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965 (535) The buchuman execute the kwadyo dance, which seems to be an African war dance; they hold a stick in front of them and make the gesture of taking aim.

That lasts about half an hour.

The guests continue to arrive individually and settle themselves around the mortuary shed, seated on their little benches.

965 202 About three o'clock the drums begin to beat again. It is Bukuman, master of the art of speaking with the drum, who strikes the summons' formulas; the others give him the cue.

The drum speaks for a long time (1). An elder translates

> 1. It is more a question of conventional formulas than a language; two different sounds can be obtained from the drum by striking respectively with the fingers and with the palm.

for me approximately: "Other villages, be still, for there is a great festival in the grand man's village."

"We who are now living, we are going to do what our ancestors taught us long ago."

965 (551) Then the dead for whom mourning will be lifted are directly addressed, being called by name if they are men; for the women like Béniti, who cannot be called directly, for women do not have a drum-name, they call one of their deceased near relatives, here Dioté †, Béniti's brother: "Tell thy sister that we are going to part company with her, for we have been in mourning for her a long time and this is the custom, such as the ancestors did before us."

"Ancestors, come, come near us, we are going to pour the tafia and cane juice for you."

(569) (202) (Libations are made within the shed.) Then the drum addresses those present:

/217 cont./

If someone marries a girl, he must not only pay her mother the price of virginity but must also pay the girl's akka. For that he offers white beads and cloth which the bride will wear, as well as sweets which will be consumed by her. If the price of virginity were not paid, the woman's akka, humiliated, might make her sick or kill her.

/218/ There are seven categories of akka, masculine and feminine, one for each day of the week.

Crevaux in 1877 was abie to establish the complete list(1):

1. This conception is widespread in the Agni-Ashanti culture area, among the Ewé and Mina, and as far as western Dahomey. The names reported among the Mina correspond very exactly, except for some differences in prononciation, to the ones kept by the Boni.

	Men	Women
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasiba
Monday	Kɔdyo	Adyuba
Tuesday	Kwami	Abeniba
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Yao	Yaba
Friday	Kɔfi	Afiba
Saturday	Kwamina	Amba

All these names are known to the Boni, but none of our informants was capable of reciting the complete list. It is well understood that a name like Kɔfi, Kɔdio /ɛ: :/, etc. is the akka's name and not at all the man's name (2).

/#18 cont./

794 •551

2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an akka name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lêbikwaku.

794 262 (551) Actually, each one knows his akka's name, which was revealed to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is attached an akka kina or food prohibition relative to the akka. (784) Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and friends, for knowing them could help the wisimâ take possession of the akka. On this subject people often use the term gadu kina, as they say mi gadu instead of mi akka. This term is (784) (789) easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed person by the god which incarnates itself in him; these are two very different notions.

(852) (789) The akka kina is unique for each man. It is sought by the parents when the child is completely weaned. They try to draw parallels between the food he has eaten and the health disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed by divinatory procedures.

794 782 A man does not ordinarily pray to his akka. He addresses prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (switi sopi), which he turns upside down over his head.

794 184 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the idea that the shadow (kaaka) is the visible image of the akka; the Boni do not appear to have this conception; one does not observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his akka.

6:Hurault--446 K-6 (1948-1956) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS Boni"

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*539 big boat avoided him. Anansi paddled toward it, paddled until... gbo! (collision) the small boat sank. Anansi in the water shouted: "You have drowned the king's child, give back to me, give back the king's child to me quickly, if not, Whites, who are in that ship, you and I are going to die!(1)"

1. Obvious contradiction with the beginning of the tale where it is said that in those times the country of the Whites did not exist. But none of the listeners appears to worry about it.

They enjoyed the big boat. They hoisted Anansi on board. They fished out the small boat, but did not find the dead child.

The Whites told him: "We do not find the king's child. What must be done to finish up this business?" He said: "Give me the big boat." They acquiesced.

He went back up the river with the big boat. He arrived at the pier of the king's village. Anansi shot off the cannon. On land, they fired the cannon too. Anansi was received triumphalty, the king's daughter put a ring on his finger, and they were married. Thus it was that the king had a steamboat.

9) Pikinbaya (2)

[191]

2. This tale is a theme of the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo.

There was a woman; she had a child whom she named Pikinbaya (3). One day she gave him food to take to the market

[551]

3. The name means "little comrade."